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TO: Secretary of State

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NO: POLTO 1926, JANUARY 12, 10 PM

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SENT DEPARTMENT POLTO 1926, REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON POLTO  
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PRIVATE NAC MEETING, JANUARY 12 - SOVIET AIDE-MEMOIRE,  
JANUARY 5

TODAY'S NAC DISCUSSION OF SOVIET AIDE-MEMOIRE AS EXPECTED  
WAS JOINED TO CONSIDERATION OF MORE RECENT JANUARY  
10 SOVIET NOTE, TEXTS OF WHICH WERE CIRCULATED BY US AND  
FRANCE WHICH ALSO DISTRIBUTED TEXT OF ATTACHED DRAFT TREATY.  
GENERAL CONSENSUS OF OPINION WAS THAT SOVIET AIDE-MEMOIRE  
CONTAINED NOTHING ESSENTIALLY NEW BUT COUCHED IN MODERATE  
TONE AND RESPONSES SHOULD BE DRAFTED IN LIKE FASHION. WHILE  
ALL AGREED DOOR SHOULD BE KEPT OPEN TO FURTHER NEGOTIATION  
THERE WAS GENERAL FEELING THAT RESPECTIVE POSITIONS OF WEST  
AND SOVIETS WERE TOO FAR APART FOR ANY COMPROMISE BUT THAT  
FROM POINT OF VIEW OF PUBLIC OPINION REASSERTION OF WESTERN  
POSITION SHOULD BE AS CLEAR AND IMAGINATIVE AS POSSIBLE.  
SPAACK SUGGESTED SERIES OF QUESTIONS BE ADDRESSED TO MIKOYAN  
TO CLARIFY CERTAIN POINTS IN AIDE-MEMOIRE BUT GENERAL FEELING  
WAS THAT FORMAL RESPONSES SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO SOVIET NOTE  
OF JANUARY 10.

RE INTERPRETATION GIVEN AIDE-MEMOIRE NATO DELEGATIONS  
GENERALLY SUPPORTED GERMAN VIEW (STATEMENT WILL BE POUCHED)  
THAT SOVIET PROPOSALS RE TREATY OF PEACE PRESENTED NOTHING  
NEW BUT WERE MORE RIGIDLY FORMULATED AND MORE DETAILED.  
SOVIET STIPULATIONS RE NEUTRALIZATION OF GERMANY, MILITARY  
RESTRICTIONS, WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES, ETC. ESSENTIALLY SAME  
AS THOSE OFFERED IN SOVIET DRAFT TREATY OF MARCH 10, 1952  
WITH EXCEPTION REFERENCES TO POTSDAM AND RESTORATION OF  
GERMANY AS UNIFIED STATE SUPPRESSED. GERMANY LIKEWISE NOTED,  
RE BERLIN, THAT "ULTIMATIUM" HAD DISAPPEARED WITHOUT HOWEVER  
WITHDRAWING DELAY OF 6 MONTHS. FELT THAT LIMITED INDICATION  
OF DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE WAS PROBABLY ONLY SOVIET TACTIC AND  
STRATEGY TO INFLUENCE WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION.

SOVIET

PERMANENT

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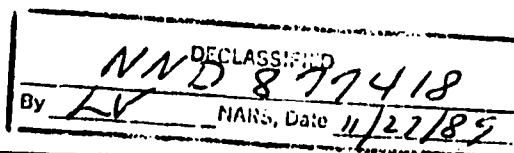
SOVIET OBJECTIVE OF INFLUENCING PUBLIC OPINION CITED BY MOST OTHER DELEGATIONS, ESPECIALLY BELGIUM, WHICH EMPHASIZED NECESSITY FOR WEST TO RESPOND TO SIMILAR TONE. SUGGESTED WESTERN RESPONSES STATE WITHOUT AGGRESSIVENESS FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES THAT DIVIDED EAST AND WEST IN WAY PUBLIC OPINION WOULD UNDERSTAND. SHOULD POINT UP CONTRADICTIONS IN AIDE-MEMOIRE, FOR EXAMPLE MEANING OF REFERENCES TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES IN FUTURE UNITED GERMANY WHICH CURRENTLY DENIED BY SOVIETS TO GDR. BELGIAN PERMREP HOWEVER WELCOMED CHANGE IN TONE OF SOVIET AIDE-MEMOIRE AND HOPED IT MIGHT LEAD TO SUMMIT TALKS. FELT WESTERN RESPONSES IN SIMILAR TONE WOULD MAKE FOR CREATION OF NEW ATMOSPHERE LEADING TO THIS END.

ITALY, FRANCE, NORWAY AND OTHERS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF GREECE, WHICH FELT THAT NO IMPORTANCE COULD BE ATTACHED TO LESS AGGRESSIVE TONE OF SOVIET NOTE, GENERALLY AGREED WITH BELGIAN POSITION. UK NOTED OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF SOVIET NOTE OF JANUARY 10 WERE: (1) IT WAS DISTRIBUTED TO NON-NATO COUNTRIES, PROBABLY IN ATTEMPT TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR SOVIET POSITION IN UNCOMMITTED COUNTRIES WHICH THUS WOULD HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY RE PROPOSED PEACE TREATY AND BERLIN SETTLEMENT; (2) NOTE IDENTICAL WITH IDEAS EXPRESSED IN AIDE-MEMOIRE BUT DIFFERENT FROM SOVIET DRAFT TREATY OF 1952 WHICH PAID LIP SERVICE TO UNITED GERMANY AS COMPARED WITH PRESENT EMPHASIS ON SIGNING TREATY WITH TWO GERMANYS, LIMITATION ON GERMAN ARMAMENTS MORE SPECIFIC AND PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH BOUNDARIES AS OF JANUARY 1, 1959 NEGATED WESTERN POSITION THAT FRONTIERS WERE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS; AND (3) WHILE IT DOES NOT EXPLICITLY REJECT WESTERN PROPOSALS OF DECEMBER 31, NEVERTHELESS INFERS THESE ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE. UK PERMREP EMPHASIZED SOVIETS ATTEMPTING TO LOWER TEMPERATURE CREATED BY BERLIN POSITION, SOFTEN ATTITUDE OF WEST. HAVE DONE NOTHING HOWEVER TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF WESTERN ATTEMPTS TO PERMIT THEM TO RETREAT. FRANCE, IN SUPPORTING VIEW USSR TRYING TO INFLUENCE WESTERN OPINIONS, NOTED SOVIET AIDE-MEMOIRE MADE NO REFERENCE TO 6 MONTHS TIME PERIOD FOR BERLIN. HOWEVER, SAW SOVIETS AS WILLING NOT TO DISCUSS BERLIN WITHIN BROADER GERMAN FRAMEWORK BUT ONLY PARALLEL TO NEGOTIATIONS OF PEACE TREATY.

SPAANK IN SUMMARIZING DISCUSSION EMPHASIZED STRONGLY WESTERN POWERS MUST BE CONSCIOUS OF BASICALLY OPPOSING VIEWS OF USSR AND WEST ON GERMANY WHICH COULD NOT BE COMPROMISED, THE WEST TAKING AS BASIS OF ITS POSITION GERMAN REUNIFICATION BY FREE

ELECTIONS

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ELECTIONS AND FREEDOM OF ALL GERMAN GOVERNMENT TO CHOOSE ITS ALLIANCES WHILE RUSSIA STOOD FIRMLY ON CONCEPT OF TWO GERMANY'S AND GERMAN CONFEDERATION. WAS CERTAIN DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIETS ON GERMANY AS WHOLE WOULD LEAD TO IMPASSE. THIS WOULD ENABLE SOVIETS TO PRESS FOR NEGOTIATION ON BERLIN ALONE. DID NOT OFFER CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS BUT IMPLIED WEST SHOULD BE PREPARED NEGOTIATE ON BERLIN ALONE.

RE RESPONSES TO SOVIET AIDE-MEMOIRE, SPAAK SUGGESTED THAT IN CONVERSATION WITH MIKOYAN SECRETARY DULLES MIGHT WISH TO ASK FOR CLARIFICATION OF CERTAIN POINTS OF SOVIET POSITION SUCH AS (1) ARE BERLIN AND GERMAN PROBLEM IN SOVIET VIEW LINKED? (2) DOES USSR ADMIT A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FOUR POWERS FOR GERMAN PEACE TREATY? (3) WHAT PRECISELY DO SOVIETS MEAN BY GERMAN CONFEDERATION IN TERMS OF COMMON INSTITUTIONS AND COMPETENCES AND IN VIEW OF THE DIFFERING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE FEDREP AND THE GDR? (4) WHAT DOES THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT MEAN BY DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES IN A UNIFIED GERMANY WHEN FREEDOM DOES NOT EXIST IN SOVIET ZONE? AND (5) WOULD UNIFIED GERMANY BE DEPRIVED OF DEFENSE ATOMIC WEAPONS NECESSARY FOR ITS SECURITY?

FURTHER DISCUSSIONS REVEALED SOME CONFUSIONS AS TO WHETHER FORMAL RESPONSES SHOULD BE MADE TO SOVIET AIDE-MEMOIRE IN VIEW OF RECEIPT OF JANUARY 10 NOTE. CONSENSUS APPEARED TO BE THAT SOVIET AIDE-MEMOIRE, GIVEN ONLY TO US AND FRANCE WAS MERELY FORERUNNER OF LATER SOVIET NOTE AND THAT ATTENTION SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD RESPONSES TO BE GIVEN LATTER. US PERMREP STATED MEETING BETWEEN MIKOYAN AND SECRETARY PROBABLY WOULD NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL LATTER PART OF WEEK AND WOULD APPRECIATE ANY FURTHER IDEAS OTHER NATO GOVERNMENTS MIGHT HAVE RE AIDE-MEMOIRE. IT WAS AGREED DISCUSSIONS OF SOVIET NOTE WOULD BE CONTINUED WEDNESDAY.

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